IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF UTAH

CENTRAL DIVISION

In re:)
)
KODY BROWN, MERI BROWN,)
JANELLE BROWN, CHRISTINE)
BROWN, ROBYN SULLIVAN,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
)
V.)Case No. 2:11-CV-652CW
)
GARY R. HERBERT, MARK)
SHURTLEFF, JEFFERY R. BUHMAN,	.)
)
Defendants.)

Transcript of Motions for Summary Judgment

BEFORE THE HONORABLE CLARK WADDOUPS

January 17, 2013

Karen Murakami, CSR, RPR 144 U.S. Courthouse 350 South Main Street Salt Lake City, Utah 84101 Telephone: 801-328-4800

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Salt Lake City, Utah, Thursday, January 17, 2013

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                 THE COURT: We are here in the matter of
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     Brown and others v. Herbert and others, case
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     2:11-cv-652. Will counsel please state their
 6
     appearance.
 7
                 MR. TURLEY: Good morning Your Honor,
 8
     Jonathan Turley and my colleague Adam Alba here
 9
     representing the Brown family.
10
                 THE COURT: Thank you.
11
                MR. JENSEN: Good afternoon Your Honor,
12
     Jerrold Jensen and Tom Roberts on behalf of the
13
     defendant.
14
                 THE COURT: Thank you. We are here for
15
     argument on cross-motions for summary judgment. And in
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     order to fix the arguments clearly in my mind, it would
17
     be helpful if we could start with the defendant.
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As a preliminary matter, as I have read the

- 20 $\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,$ papers and as I understand the position of the defense,
- 21 the defendant, there really are no disputed issues of

Mr. Jensen, if you would come forward.

- 22 fact here; is that correct?
- MR. JENSEN: That's essentially correct,
- 24 yes.

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25 THE COURT: I understand you to make some

- 1 legal arguments as to the significance of some of those
- 2 facts, but there is no evidence presented to find that
- 3 the facts are otherwise than stated by the plaintiffs in
- 4 this case; is that correct?
- 5 MR. JENSEN: We referenced a couple of facts
- 6 that we took some issue with, but the overall thrust of
- 7 it there's no dispute.
- 8 THE COURT: Let's make sure that we're on
- 9 the same page as to those facts. As I understand it,
- 10 you raised concerns about paragraphs 3, 11, and 32,
- 11 which were references that you disagreed with as to the
- 12 intent of the drafters of the criminal statute; is that
- 13 correct?
- MR. JENSEN: That's correct.
- 15 THE COURT: And actually, while you disagree
- 16 with that statement, the state has provided no evidence
- 17 to support any contrary intent of the drafters other
- 18 than what's in the statutes themselves.
- 19 MR. JENSEN: That's correct.
- 20 THE COURT: The defendant also objected to
- 21 paragraph 20, which references statements made by the
- 22 office of the defendant, not directly by the defendant
- 23 himself. As I understand your position, you're not
- 24 denying that the statement was made, simply that it was
- 25 not made with the intent of the defendant to be bound by

- 1 it.
- 2 MR. JENSEN: That is mostly correct.
- 3 Mr. Buhman would probably word it slightly different,
- 4 Your Honor, and I don't know that it makes a big
- 5 difference. But he would say, as it was reported in the
- 6 paper, he has no knowledge that those statements were
- 7 actually made or that they were made in the wording that
- 8 was reported in the press, but it's a minor issue.
- 9 THE COURT: All right. Now, second is in
- 10 its opposition to this the defendant has chosen -- well,
- 11 let me preface this. The plaintiff has made arguments
- 12 that under six different clauses of the United States
- 13 Constitution that there is a violation -- or at least a
- 14 constitutional problem. The defense chose in its
- 15 opposition not to respond separately to each of those
- 16 counts. Do you now wish to make an argument as to each
- 17 of those counts, particularly the Due Process Clause,
- 18 the Equal Protection Clause, the Free Exercise Clause,
- 19 the Establishment Clause, the Free Speech Clause, and
- 20 the Freedom of Association?
- 21 MR. JENSEN: Well, I think we addressed the
- 22 Due Process Clause in our reference to the Lawrence
- 23 case, which is that's what that is about. I think we
- 24 addressed our Free Exercise Clause when we referenced
- 25 the Reynolds case. The Potter case also deals with the

- 1 due process right of privacy. So those were the ones we
- 2 focused on as the principal arguments of the plaintiff.
- 3 It was kind of a kitchen sink argument, Your Honor, I
- 4 mean we threw in everything plus the kitchen sink.
- 5 THE COURT: Are you talking about your
- 6 opposition or are you talking about the plaintiffs'
- 7 analysis?
- 8 MR. JENSEN: The plaintiffs. There are a
- 9 litany of theories and --
- 10 THE COURT: I think their argument, as I
- 11 understand it, is that they say there are problems under
- 12 each one of those clauses, and the defendant chose not
- 13 address most of the arguments.
- 14 MR. JENSEN: The defendant chose to say that
- 15 the Tenth Circuit has dealt with this issue twice in the
- 16 last five years and has said that the precedent is clear
- 17 and controlling, that there is a wealth of precedent
- 18 that it is persuasive, and we relied upon those cases of
- 19 the Tenth Circuit.
- 20 THE COURT: All right. Well, I'm going to
- 21 give you a little further opportunity to explain your
- 22 position. Let's start with the due process claim.
- 23 First of all, Lawrence I believe is the latest
- 24 expression of the Supreme Court of the rights under the
- 25 Due Process Clause. And would you start as to what your

- 1 position is as to what the correct standard of review
- 2 under the Due Process Clause is.
- 3 MR. JENSEN: The correct standard of review
- 4 in this case, because we're not dealing with a
- 5 fundamental right or a suspect class, would be a
- 6 rational basis.
- 7 THE COURT: Tell me why you believe we're
- 8 not dealing with a fundamental right.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: There is no court in this
- 10 country that has held that the practice of polygamy is a
- 11 fundamental right.
- 12 THE COURT: Let me ask you, to further
- 13 understand your position on this, what is it that
- 14 constitutes -- what is the conduct that distinguishes
- 15 this behavior as being polygamist behavior?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, when you say "this
- 17 conduct," I'm --
- 18 THE COURT: Let me explain further. Let's
- 19 assume that a man chooses to have intimate relationships
- 20 with three different women, each of whom resided in
- 21 different residences, and he has children with all of
- 22 them, would that be violative of -- would that be
- 23 polygamist conduct?
- 24 MR. JENSEN: Is he married to any of them
- 25 legally?

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1 THE COURT: Isn't that the question?
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- 2 MR. JENSEN: I mean you've stated a fact.
- 3 I'm trying to understand the clarification.
- 4 THE COURT: Let's assume that he does not
- 5 have a marriage license or recognized public document
- 6 saying he's married to any of them.
- 7 MR. JENSEN: That would not be -- I don't
- 8 think that would be termed polygamy because there's no
- 9 marriage.
- 10 THE COURT: Would that be a fundamental --
- 11 would his right to engage in that conduct be a protected
- 12 fundamental right under the Due Process Clause?
- MR. JENSEN: Marriage is a fundamental
- 14 right. I don't know that that conduct is a fundamental
- 15 right. The Lawrence case stands for the principle --
- 16 THE COURT: Let me tell you what you say in
- 17 your brief.
- 18 MR. JENSEN: Okay.
- 19 THE COURT: You say that, As applying
- 20 Lawrence, the present case, the State of Utah is in
- 21 complete accord with applying the holding of Lawrence to
- 22 plaintiffs' intimate sexual conduct in the home.
- 23 Neither Utah's constitutional provision banning polygamy
- 24 nor the state's bigamy statute criminalizing polygamy
- 25 prohibit plaintiffs' private sexual conduct. In the

- 1 hypothetical I've given you that would be the
- 2 plaintiffs' private sexual conduct, his intimate sexual
- 3 conduct in the home, his intimate relationships with
- 4 three different women, and having children with those
- 5 three different women, you seem to say that that's
- 6 recognized under Lawrence as a fundamental right. Are
- 7 you now disagreeing with that?
- 8 MR. JENSEN: No, I think that's right.
- 9 THE COURT: So now what is the
- 10 distinguishing characteristic between that conduct and
- 11 the conduct that you argue is alleged to be criminalized
- 12 by this statute?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, the conduct is
- 14 criminalized by the statute where a man has a civil
- 15 marriage, or a recognized civil marriage with one of the
- 16 women.
- 17 THE COURT: Now, when you say "recognized
- 18 civil marriage," you mean a legally-recognized civil
- 19 marriage.
- 20 MR. JENSEN: Legally-recognized civil
- 21 marriage, and then has what they hold themselves out to
- 22 be as another marriage to additional spouses.
- 23 THE COURT: Let's assume your situation,
- 24 that a man is legally by law recognized as married to
- 25 one woman and then he has intimate sexual relationships

- 1 continuing with two other women, but he doesn't make any
- 2 professions of any commitment to these women, he just
- 3 engages in adulterous conduct. Does the statute come
- 4 into play in those circumstances?
- 5 MR. JENSEN: I don't think it does. The
- 6 cohabitation would apply if they were living in one
- 7 household and cohabitating as a man and plural wives.
- 8 THE COURT: Now, let's suppose in that
- 9 same --
- 10 MR. JENSEN: The situation you presented is
- 11 no different than someone having an affair, which --
- 12 THE COURT: Okay. Would strict scrutiny be
- 13 the appropriate standard under the Due Process Clause to
- 14 analyze this conduct?
- 15 MR. JENSEN: To analyze the conduct of what?
- 16 THE COURT: That we've just been talking
- 17 about, the man that's legally married to one woman but
- 18 has adulterous relationships and children with two other
- 19 women.
- 20 MR. JENSEN: No, I don't think there's a
- 21 fundamental right to have an adulterous relationship.
- 22 THE COURT: Isn't that what I just read from
- 23 your brief that you just said you agreed that there was
- 24 a fundamental right?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, but the Lawrence -- yes,

- 1 the Lawrence case says there is a fundamental right to
- 2 have intimate sexual relations.
- 3 THE COURT: And it doesn't limit it to one
- 4 person.
- 5 MR. JENSEN: No, doesn't limit it to one
- 6 person.
- 7 THE COURT: So you would agree under that
- 8 circumstance if there was a law attempting to prohibit
- 9 that behavior it would have to be analyzed under strict
- 10 scrutiny.
- 11 MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- 12 THE COURT: Now, let's -- to understand your
- 13 position, let's assume the same scenario, legal marriage
- 14 to one woman, intimate relationships with two additional
- 15 women, but as to one of those women he makes a public
- 16 pronouncement that says I'm committed to this woman, I'm
- 17 going to take care of her for the rest of her life, does
- 18 that change the analysis?
- 19 MR. JENSEN: Well, I don't know that it
- 20 changes the analysis. The polygamy aspect of this
- 21 requires that there be a marriage of some sort, a second
- 22 or third or fourth marriage.
- 23 THE COURT: But that's the problem is
- 24 deciding what constitutes a marriage for purposes of
- 25 this act. Does the public pronouncement that I intend

- 1 to be committed to this woman, I will take care of her
- 2 and her children for as long she lives, is that enough
- 3 to make a marriage?
- 4 MR. JENSEN: I'm not sure that's enough to
- 5 make a marriage, no.
- 6 THE COURT: Okay. Let's suppose that he
- 7 says the same thing, but he says it to his Jewish rabbi,
- 8 does that now become a polygamist marriage? And the
- 9 rabbi says I bless you and recognize you as husband and
- 10 wife.
- 11 MR. JENSEN: Well, if they are holding
- 12 themselves out as husband and wife, I would recognize
- 13 that as a marriage.
- 14 THE COURT: So is it the recognition by a
- 15 religious organization that it believes that they are
- 16 living together in a recognized relationship by that
- 17 religion sufficient?
- MR. JENSEN: No, no, no.
- 19 THE COURT: What is the defining conduct
- 20 that takes this out of being under strict scrutiny?
- 21 MR. JENSEN: I think it's the representation
- 22 that they make to the world as to what is their
- 23 relationship. If they make it as husband and wife, then
- 24 that constitutes marriage under the statute.
- 25 THE COURT: If they say we're not husband

- 1 and wife, we just live together, then it's not under the
- 2 statute.
- 3 MR. JENSEN: Then it's not governed under
- 4 the statute.
- 5 THE COURT: Let's assume that you are
- 6 correct that a rational test applies there, tell me what
- 7 rationalization the state has to prohibit the difference
- 8 between a person saying I'm committed to this woman and
- 9 we live together as husband and wife, as opposed to I'm
- 10 committed to this woman, but we just live together, what
- 11 is the societal interest that you think is rationally
- 12 protected by criminalizing that conduct?
- 13 MR. JENSEN: I don't think there's any
- 14 question about that, Your Honor. What's rational about
- 15 criminalizing it is the children that are produced by
- 16 the polygamist marriages.
- 17 THE COURT: There's no difference between
- 18 the two, as I can see it.
- MR. JENSEN: As far as --
- 20 THE COURT: They're living together, they
- 21 have children together, he said I'll take care of you,
- 22 he just doesn't call her his wife. Does the fact that
- 23 he calls her a wife entitle the state to criminalize the
- 24 conduct?
- MR. JENSEN: It does because of the

- 1 criminality that comes out of polygamous unions and in
- 2 the polygamist communities and the harm that is
- 3 perpetrated on women, and particularly young girls, but
- 4 it also applies to young boys.
- 5 THE COURT: All of that is irrelevant to
- 6 this case. Isn't your argument way overbroad?
- 7 MR. JENSEN: No, because we're talking about
- 8 the polygamy statute, the bigamy statute.
- 9 THE COURT: Yes, but we're --
- 10 MR. JENSEN: Why does the state have a right
- 11 to criminalize that? And the answer is is because of
- 12 the criminality that comes out of the polygamist
- 13 communities, and the stories are replete about that and
- 14 it goes on and this state has a history of it for a
- 15 hundred or more years.
- 16 THE COURT: But all of that criminality has
- 17 separate statutes that deal with it in a manner that
- 18 there is no evidence that is not completely satisfactory
- 19 to address those problems.
- 20 MR. JENSEN: Well, the problem is that
- 21 they're such insular societies that we -- that law
- 22 enforcement can't address those problems, so that the
- 23 means of doing it is to criminalize the actual
- 24 polygamist marriages.
- 25 THE COURT: And the factor that you think

- 1 makes the difference is the fact that in one case the
- 2 man says she's my wife and in the other case he says I
- 3 just live with her.
- 4 MR. JENSEN: Well, you know what, the law
- 5 has to draw a line somewhere.
- 6 THE COURT: They have to be rational lines,
- 7 they have to be supported with some reason. Tell me the
- 8 reasons.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: Why is drunkenness at .08 and
- 10 not .07? There is a line drawn somewhere. And the fact
- 11 is people tend to be married when they have children.
- 12 Do we criminalize those who have children out of
- 13 marriage? We do not. But those who hold themselves out
- 14 to be married and have children, there are such harms
- 15 that we have seen in the history of this state that have
- 16 been generated from that that the legislature has made
- 17 the decision to criminalize those unions. That's
- 18 perfectly rational to me, Your Honor.
- 19 THE COURT: Could the state make the
- 20 decision that we're going to criminalize every person
- 21 that has an illegitimate child under the Constitution?
- MR. JENSEN: No, I think not.
- 23 THE COURT: I think that's what the Lawrence
- 24 case stands for, you couldn't criminalize it. So
- 25 there's got to be something at play here more than just

- 1 the fact that there are harms to children being born in
- 2 illegitimate relationships. What I'm looking for is you
- 3 to help me find what is that distinguishing factor? And
- 4 frankly on the face of this history it appears to be
- 5 religion.
- 6 MR. JENSEN: Well, there is no question that
- 7 polygamy is associated with religion in this state. Not
- 8 all of the cases that have been prosecuted in this state
- 9 are against people that assert religion as a defense.
- 10 There has been cases in which there was not religion.
- 11 THE COURT: But aren't those cases all where
- 12 there was legally recognized marriages claimed as to
- 13 both spouses?
- MR. JENSEN: Yes, yes, yes.
- 15 THE COURT: That's a different scenario than
- 16 what we're talking about here.
- 17 Let me go to the next matter, which is the
- 18 equal protection claim --
- 19 MR. JENSEN: Let me come back to this,
- 20 though, because not all of the harms that are talked
- 21 about in our society dealing with the polygamist
- 22 communities relate to just children. There are a lot of
- 23 harms that are imposed upon women, and the literature is
- 24 replete with it, and we can supply the court with those
- 25 stories if you want, but essentially the women are

- 1 subjected, they're exploited, they have children on a
- 2 repeated basis, they have no financial independence,
- 3 they are unable to assert themselves, they are unable to
- 4 leave that situation if they want, they have a high
- 5 degree of health problems, higher than normal in
- 6 society, they have a higher degree of trauma, they have
- 7 a higher degree of dissatisfaction in their marriages
- 8 because the marriages tend to be -- there's an age gap
- 9 between the women and the men. They become widows at a
- 10 much earlier age, more of them are on welfare than in
- 11 the society at large. I mean the list goes on and on.
- 12 They receive more Medicaid than in society at large.
- 13 There are harms that apply to them as well.
- 14 THE COURT: Well, all of that may be true,
- 15 but you chose not to present any evidence to support any
- 16 of those positions in this case.
- 17 MR. JENSEN: Well, I've talked about social
- 18 harms as to -- we've certainly talked about social
- 19 harms.
- 20 THE COURT: But you've presented no evidence
- 21 to support your assertions that you just made. You
- 22 accepted the facts of the plaintiffs in this case.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, we pointed out stories of
- 24 harms.
- 25 THE COURT: But, yes, you argued them, but

- 1 you didn't provide any evidence to the court or did you
- 2 provide the plaintiffs an opportunity to test those
- 3 allegations with cross-examination or evidence of its
- 4 own.
- 5 MR. JENSEN: We haven't ever had that
- 6 opportunity, Your Honor.
- 7 THE COURT: Of course you did. That's what
- 8 summary judgment is about.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: This is a test, this is a
- 10 facial challenge to a statute of the State of Utah.
- 11 THE COURT: And also as applied to these
- 12 specific plaintiffs.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, it hasn't been applied to
- 14 them at all. It's a facial challenge. It's not an as
- 15 applied challenge. And the criteria for determining
- 16 whether or not the legislature has made a rational
- 17 decision in criminalizing the activity is not scientific
- 18 proof or putting before this court all of the evidence
- 19 that may be out there to determine that. The question
- 20 is is there a rational reason for the legislature to
- 21 make the decision it's made. And given the harms that
- 22 we've pointed out, I think that's highly -- we have a
- 23 page limitation, Your Honor, as to what can be submitted
- 24 here.
- 25 THE COURT: Well, there was no page

- 1 limitation imposed on you.
- 2 MR. JENSEN: Oh, I asked Mr. Turley if he
- 3 would allow me to file extended pages, after I granted
- 4 him that, and he refused.
- 5 THE COURT: It's well accepted in the
- 6 community that I've never once denied anyone filing a
- 7 brief because of page limits. That's not -- and your
- 8 page limit didn't even come close to the allowed page
- 9 limit.
- 10 MR. JENSEN: On the original memorandum it
- 11 did not. On the reply it did. We had to cut out a lot
- 12 of material to comply with the page limitation. We
- 13 could have gone on and on about the harms.
- 14 THE COURT: Let's go to the next element,
- 15 which is the equal protection claim. What's the
- 16 appropriate standard of review under the equal
- 17 protection claim?
- MR. JENSEN: Rational review.
- 19 THE COURT: Why isn't it heightened
- 20 scrutiny?
- 21 MR. JENSEN: I don't even see how the Browns
- 22 can assert equal protection. I mean they're a class of
- 23 one.
- 24 THE COURT: Well, you just told me there was
- 25 a whole class of many people practicing polygamy which

- 1 you believe provide a social harm. Aren't they part of
- 2 a discrete and insular minority, people who believe in
- 3 and profess to practice polygamy?
- 4 MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- 5 THE COURT: Doesn't that standard require
- 6 that the court apply heightened scrutiny?
- 7 MR. JENSEN: Well, maybe it does. I would
- 8 think it's still -- I would think on this statute we're
- 9 still talking about a rational basis.
- 10 THE COURT: Okay. There's some suggestion
- 11 that even if it's not heightened scrutiny, it should at
- 12 least be intermediate scrutiny. Have you given any
- 13 thought to whether that's the proper standard?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, I haven't given -- not on
- 15 the Equal Protection Clause. I'm not even sure whether
- 16 the Equal Protection Clause even comes in in here.
- 17 THE COURT: Well, but that's -- the
- 18 plaintiffs argue it does. Is your argument you want me
- 19 to make the decision on your basis that you don't
- 20 believe the Equal Protection Clause applies? Is that
- 21 the basis for the argument you want me to accept?
- 22 MR. JENSEN: No. The basis for the argument
- 23 we want you to accept is that --
- 24 THE COURT: Under equal protection.
- 25 MR. JENSEN: -- is that the Tenth Circuit

- 1 has declared that the Utah statute is constitutional.
- 2 THE COURT: Has the Tenth Circuit ever
- 3 addressed the analysis under the Equal Protection
- 4 Clause?
- 5 MR. JENSEN: I think that analysis has been
- 6 addressed -- I don't think it was addressed in Potter.
- 7 I think it's been addressed by the Utah Supreme Court in
- 8 the Holm case.
- 9 THE COURT: The Holm case did address it but
- 10 not the Tenth Circuit.
- 11 MR. JENSEN: Yes, that's right.
- 12 THE COURT: Under the standard there must
- 13 serve important government objectives. What would you
- 14 believe that the government objective for this statute
- 15 is?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, the governmental
- 17 objective of this statute is to prevent harms that have
- 18 been perpetrated on women, children, young girls and
- 19 young boys. There isn't any question what the purpose
- 20 of statute is, Your Honor, it's to prevent a whole raft
- 21 of harms that are --
- 22 THE COURT: What evidence or historical
- 23 support can you provide that that's why this statute was
- 24 adopted? That's not why any of the legislation that
- 25 came about that was litigated in the Reynolds case came

- 1 about, came about for those reasons. It came about
- 2 because of attempts to stamp out a religious practice.
- 3 MR. JENSEN: Well, the Reynolds case talks
- 4 about evil consequences from -- that come about from
- 5 polygamy.
- 6 THE COURT: Well, it says western society
- 7 has recognized that polygamy is not good, acknowledging
- 8 that Asiatic and African societies have recognized it.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: Well, the court also talks
- 10 about the evil consequences. That language is in that
- 11 case.
- 12 THE COURT: But it doesn't talk about the
- 13 specific items that you just raised about abuse of
- 14 children and abuse of women.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, I would assume evil
- 16 consequences are abuse of children and abuse of women.
- 17 I don't know what other evil consequences there are.
- 18 THE COURT: And that's the objective that
- 19 you argue that the court should consider in terms of
- 20 weighing whether or not it satisfies muster under the
- 21 Equal Protection Clause.
- MR. JENSEN: Whether or not there are harms
- 23 on society absolutely. The government has a legitimate
- 24 interest in protecting people from being injured. There
- 25 is no question about that.

- 1 THE COURT: All right. Let's go to the free
- 2 exercise claim. Which standard do you believe applies
- 3 under the free exercise claim?
- 4 MR. JENSEN: Again, my answer is the same.
- 5 We do not have a suspect class, we do not have a
- 6 fundamental right, therefore its the rational review.
- 7 THE COURT: How would you deal with the fact
- 8 that, I think you just acknowledged, that the
- 9 legislation that we are dealing with arises out of a
- 10 strong history that has religious implications?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, the current statute that
- 12 was passed in 1973 comes about from the Model Penal
- 13 Code, which was the Utah Legislature went through their
- 14 criminal code in 1973 and they deleted polygamy from
- 15 their statute, they changed the language of the statute,
- 16 they made it a bigamy statute, and it conforms to the
- 17 Model Penal Code much like the other 49 states in this
- 18 country.
- 19 THE COURT: The recent -- you reference the
- 20 fact that the Reynolds case has been cited recently.
- 21 Would you agree or disagree that it has been primarily
- 22 cited for the fact that a neutral law of general
- 23 applicability is not unconstitutional. That's the
- 24 reason -- that's the basis the Reynolds case is largely
- 25 cited for?

- 1 MR. JENSEN: Yeah. It was cited in that
- 2 Smith v. Oregon case and --
- 3 THE COURT: Would you also agree that that
- 4 is conditioned by the fact that it cannot incidentally
- 5 negatively affect a particular religion or religious
- 6 group? In other words, the law of neutral applicability
- 7 can't be structured in such a way that it negatively
- 8 affects a particular religious group.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: Oh, yeah, I would agree with
- 10 that.
- 11 THE COURT: Doesn't this law have a problem
- 12 under that test?
- MR. JENSEN: No. No, because it applies to
- 14 everyone practicing polygamy. Not all of them are
- 15 religious.
- 16 THE COURT: Do you think the court should
- 17 ignore the history as to how we got these laws?
- 18 MR. JENSEN: Well, I think we can all agree
- 19 on how we got the laws. But, you know what, Your Honor,
- 20 every state in the country has the law and not every
- 21 state in the country has Mormon polygamists.
- 22 THE COURT: All right. But that's how you
- 23 want the court to analyze it under that -- your argument
- 24 $\,$ is I should assume that it is a neutral -- a law of
- 25 neutral applicability and it doesn't have any impact on

- 1 any particular religious group.
- 2 MR. JENSEN: Absolutely.
- 3 THE COURT: Let's go to the free association
- 4 claim, is your argument same?
- 5 MR. JENSEN: The same. I don't even see
- 6 where the free association captures this. Free
- 7 association does not apply to marriages. There's no
- 8 court that's held that when they discuss marriages that
- 9 they granted under the First Amendment free association.
- 10 THE COURT: Are you aware of the Roberts v.
- 11 United States Jaycees case, the United States Supreme
- 12 Court 1984?
- MR. JENSEN: You know, I've seen that case.
- 14 I've not read it.
- 15 THE COURT: I believe the court said that in
- 16 that case freedom of association applies in two distinct
- 17 instances, one, choices to enter into and maintain
- 18 intimate human relationships. Doesn't that apply here?
- 19 MR. JENSEN: Marriage is more than an
- 20 intimate human relationship. Marriage is so much more.
- 21 And that's the problem we have with the Lawrence case,
- 22 it applies to intimate human relationships. But
- 23 marriage is a different -- it's a different animal
- 24 altogether. Does it include that? It does. But is it
- 25 more? It is so much more. It is the production of

- 1 children, it is holding yourself out to society, it
- 2 deals with our inheritance laws, it deals with our tax
- 3 laws, it's throughout our society.
- 4 THE COURT: But the problem is we had
- 5 started out I was asking you your view of how it would
- 6 apply, is that this law doesn't appear to make any clear
- 7 distinction between conduct that may be harmful to
- 8 society simply because someone says that I call that
- 9 person my wife. That's the problem, that's the
- 10 struggle. If you can help me figure out how this is
- 11 different than the enumerable circumstances that are not
- 12 criminalized in which people live together, they have
- 13 children together, they have multiple partners with whom
- 14 they have children, and the state doesn't choose to
- 15 criminalize any of that behavior simply because they
- 16 don't call each other husband and wife. Now, I'm trying
- 17 to understand what additional element comes into play
- 18 here that would justify the state criminalizing this
- 19 behavior.
- 20 MR. JENSEN: I'll tell you what makes it
- 21 different, and that is the harms, the injuries to
- 22 people, particularly children, but also women, that come
- 23 out of the polygamist communities. We have a history of
- 24 it in this state, we have seen it repeatedly, it goes on
- 25 and on, and the stories are in the thousands about the

- 1 harms to these people. And it applies more to the
- 2 polygamist community than it does to society at large.
- 3 It applies to more the polygamist communities in this
- 4 state than it does to the people you're talking about
- 5 that have the illegitimate children and have the
- 6 cohabitation and are not married. But the harms are
- 7 greater. 14-year old girls of an illegitimate union are
- 8 not forced to marry. 15-year old boys of an
- 9 illegitimate union are not kicked out of the community
- 10 and dumped on the streets of Las Vegas, Phoenix, and
- 11 St. George and told to fend for themselves. Children of
- 12 illegal union -- of -- illegitimate children of those
- 13 unions in this state do not have a higher criminal
- 14 record than those in the polygamist communities. The
- 15 polygamist communities in every one of those situations
- 16 has a higher level of criminality or harm that's caused
- 17 to them than any other group you're talking about.
- 18 That's why the state has chosen to criminalize it.
- 19 THE COURT: How would you respond to the
- 20 fact that none of that is implicated by the behavior
- 21 that is raised by the plaintiffs in this case?
- 22 MR. JENSEN: It's a facial challenge. I
- 23 think it makes absolutely no difference. So what.
- 24 THE COURT: Okay. I'll analyze it on that
- 25 basis.

- 1 Would you agree that the strict scrutiny
- 2 applies under the Establishment Clause challenge?
- 3 MR. JENSEN: No, no. Same answer. It's not
- 4 a suspect classification, it's not a fundamental right.
- 5 I don't see how you get to the Establishment Clause. It
- 6 makes no sense to me. We're not -- the state isn't
- 7 establishing a religion by criminalizing bigamy any more
- 8 than the 49 other states are establishing a religion by
- 9 criminalizing bigamy.
- 10 THE COURT: But the Establishment Clause
- 11 extends to laws that facially discriminate between
- 12 religions. And I've heard your argument that you
- 13 believe that on its face it doesn't, but when you look
- 14 at the history you have to really wonder how you could
- 15 reach that conclusion, and the threat that it imposes to
- 16 particular religious communities primarily in this
- 17 state, isn't that a fact?
- 18 MR. JENSEN: Well, sure. Certainly.
- 19 THE COURT: Anything further that you want
- 20 to add before I give Mr. Turley an opportunity to
- 21 address the court?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, give me a minute.
- 23 Mr. Turley states in his response memorandum that social
- 24 harm -- pursuant to the Lawrence case, social harm is no
- 25 longer a basis for a state intruding into the private

- 1 lives of citizens. Absolutely dead wrong, and that is
- 2 probably the key here as to why he and I would disagree
- 3 on this, because the Lawrence case says just the
- 4 opposite. It says that while the court is cautioned --
- 5 the court cautions the states and courts against setting
- 6 boundaries on personal relationships. That guidance
- 7 applied only so far as there is no threat of, and I
- 8 quote, "no injury to a person or abuse of an institution
- 9 the law protects." End of quote. That's on page 567 of
- 10 the Lawrence case. Injury and social harm to me are
- 11 synonymous terms. The Lawrence court is saying that the
- 12 state can intervene when there is an injury to a person
- 13 or an institution that the law protects.
- Now, my main emphasis here is on the injury
- 15 to a person because it seems replete to me in the
- 16 polygamist communities. There are so many thousand
- 17 women in this state that will talk about the harms
- 18 they've received as a result of being in the polygamist
- 19 communities. Those stories, if given the opportunity,
- 20 can be presented to the court. But it's pretty common
- 21 knowledge in this state that those stories are out
- 22 there, and that's the basis upon which the legislature
- 23 has acted.
- 24 Secondly, we're talking about an institution
- 25 the law protects. Now, I don't know precisely what the

- 1 court meant by that, but it is possible that it means
- 2 the institution of monogamous marriage. Does the
- 3 legislature have a right to pass laws that protect the
- 4 institution of monogamous marriage? It seems to me like
- 5 the Lawrence court is saying that it does. And I think
- 6 that is fundamental to this case, protect individuals
- 7 and, secondarily, protect the institution that the law
- 8 protects. There isn't any question the law protects
- 9 that in this country. All of the states have laws
- 10 banning the practice of polygamy. Utah is not unique in
- 11 that. We just have more history about it than anybody
- 12 else because of our unique history in that regard.
- 13 THE COURT: Well, are there any further
- 14 facts you want to present or argument to the court as to
- 15 how you believe this law, given its breadth, protects
- 16 the institution of marriage, assuming that that's what
- 17 the Lawrence court meant, and by institution it meant
- 18 the institution of the monogamous marriage? How do you
- 19 believe allowing consenting adults to live together and
- 20 make a commitment to each other to provide for each
- 21 other during their lives is damaging to the institution
- 22 of monogamous marriage?
- 23 MR. JENSEN: If you're talking about one
- 24 person --
- 25 THE COURT: I'm talking about one plaintiff

- 1 and his three other co-plaintiffs who all made
- 2 commitments to live together, take care of each other,
- 3 treat each other in that way, how is that a damage to
- 4 the institution of monogamous marriage? It seems to me
- 5 it's just the opposite. You've told me that the law
- 6 doesn't criminalize people who fail to make that
- 7 commitment, and because these people make the
- 8 commitment, it's criminalized. Explain why that's
- 9 rational.
- 10 MR. JENSEN: Well, with consenting adults, I
- 11 admit if you limit -- if you limit the relationship to
- 12 just consenting adults, I understand the argument, but
- 13 that is not our fact situation when the legislature is
- 14 looking at the practice of polygamy in this state.
- 15 THE COURT: But that is the application of
- 16 the act -- of the statute to the plaintiffs in this
- 17 case.
- 18 MR. JENSEN: But it's not being applied to
- 19 the plaintiffs in this case. It's a facial challenge,
- 20 this is a facial challenge to the statute. They haven't
- 21 been charged.
- 22 THE COURT: But the statute is so broad that
- 23 it implicates these plaintiffs and criminalize them.
- 24 I've already found they have standing. And you may be
- 25 right in particular cases there wouldn't be any

- 1 challenge at all, certainly wouldn't be in a case if the
- 2 minor is a girl or someone that was forced into a
- 3 marriage. Those cases would be easy, but that's not our
- 4 case. We have a statute that is broad enough to reach
- 5 out and embrace the very people you said you could
- 6 understand why the law shouldn't reach them. Help me
- 7 understand why the law should be allowed to be that
- 8 broad.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: Well, the fact of the matter is
- 10 the statute isn't enforced against that scenario.
- 11 THE COURT: Doesn't that argue against it?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, yes. I mean sure. But
- 13 it works both ways.
- 14 THE COURT: So the statute should be found
- 15 to be unconstitutional to the extent it is interpreted
- 16 so broadly as to apply to these people.
- 17 MR. JENSEN: I'm sorry, I didn't hear all of
- 18 that, Your Honor.
- 19 THE COURT: So the statute should be
- 20 interpreted to be unconstitutional to the extent it can
- 21 be interpreted so broadly to apply to these plaintiffs.
- 22 MR. JENSEN: You never know when a situation
- 23 changes.
- 24 THE COURT: But they should be entitled to
- 25 know whether or not their behavior is criminal or not

- 1 criminal. That's a fundamental principle of the
- 2 applicability of a criminal law, it must be clear enough
- 3 so a person knows whether or not his behavior is
- 4 criminal or not criminal.
- 5 MR. JENSEN: That is correct.
- 6 THE COURT: How do these plaintiffs know
- 7 whether their behavior is criminal or not criminal?
- 8 MR. JENSEN: Well, all I can say, Your
- 9 Honor, is that the Tenth Circuit repeatedly has upheld
- 10 this statute as constitutional. And we submit to you
- 11 that --
- 12 THE COURT: Never in a case like this.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, that's not true. In the
- 14 Bronson v. Swenson case there were no children, there
- 15 was no record of abuse, none of that at all, and the
- 16 court -- the court goes through that case and very much
- 17 delineates the holding in Reynolds, the holding in
- 18 Potter, calls that controlling and persuasive and,
- 19 therefore, says that the statute is constitutional,
- 20 calls it clear precedent. It then goes on and dismisses
- 21 the case on other grounds because of standing.
- 22 THE COURT: It was all dicta.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, it's all dicta, but we
- 24 treat that as if it's meaningless. It's not meaningless
- 25 at all. The Tenth Circuit goes through that litany of

- 1 those cases and specifically states that it's
- 2 controlling precedent. I mean the holding of it is on
- 3 standing, you're right, but the Bronson v. Swenson case
- 4 is that way. The case cited a year and-a-half ago, the
- 5 Adgeh case.
- 6 THE COURT: Same thing. It wasn't cited on
- 7 the basis of facts applicable here. It was cited on
- 8 another basis.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: But it also said that Reynolds
- 10 and Potter were clearly controlling, clear precedent.
- 11 THE COURT: For the principle that it has
- 12 neutral application.
- MR. JENSEN: Sure.
- 14 THE COURT: Okay. Anything further before I
- 15 give Mr. Turley an opportunity to speak?
- MR. JENSEN: That's all, Your Honor.
- 17 THE COURT: All right.
- 18 Mr. Turley. And probably the right place to
- 19 start is to start with Mr. Jensen's argument that the
- 20 legislature can look at a social harm and based on that
- 21 argument of social harm decide that a statute is
- 22 necessary to prevent broader harm. How do you respond
- 23 to his critical argument on that point?
- 24 MR. TURLEY: Well, first of all, Your Honor,
- 25 we have not argued that social harm can never be the

- 1 basis for a statute, what we've argued is that the
- 2 social harm arguments made by the government are
- 3 woefully inadequate. You can't just say social harm and
- 4 say that that satisfies the standard. To the contrary,
- 5 we've cited various cases where the Supreme Court has
- 6 said quite forcefully you can't just simply make
- 7 conclusory statements. One of the cases would be the
- 8 Cleburne case that we cited where the court specifically
- 9 said that it will not allow these types of cited
- 10 justifications that are, quote, "so attenuated as to
- 11 render the distinction arbitrary or irrational." And
- 12 with all due respect to my esteemed colleague, I would
- 13 suggest that what was on display here shows precisely
- 14 that, that the state is offering, quote, "stories,"
- 15 close quote, to the court that have not been presented.
- I want to emphasize one thing, Your Honor,
- 17 the state summary judgment motion and brief was 11
- 18 pages. Our opening summary judgment brief was 71 pages.
- 19 And I did express concern about extending pages when I
- 20 could not respond. And, as you know, we also opposed
- 21 the timing of the filing which also weighed heavily in
- 22 that position. But what the court -- what the state has
- 23 said is that it has stories in the thousands that
- 24 somehow the court should take judicial notice of, and
- 25 that is an invitation to take judicial notice of

- 1 stereotypes. I can give you stories in the tens of
- 2 thousands of monogamous families where abuse has
- 3 occurred. It's not appropriate in a summary judgment
- 4 motion before a federal court to ask the court to take
- 5 judicial notice of that type of evidence. It's not
- 6 evidence at all.
- Now, what I find particularly troubling is
- 8 that the state is suggesting that not only could you
- 9 assume whatever it means by social harm and it's not
- 10 required to put that evidence on, but that it's also
- 11 completely immaterial about who the plaintiffs are. As
- 12 you know, we have brought both a facial and as applied
- 13 challenge. But the most important thing about these
- 14 plaintiffs is that they demonstrate that there are
- 15 plural families where this type of abuse doesn't occur,
- 16 and there are these criminal statutes that allow for the
- 17 prosecution when things like child abuse do occur. I
- 18 have no idea what the state is referring to when it says
- 19 that in just illegitimate unions, as he called it, you
- 20 don't have kids being forced out into the street. I
- 21 have no idea where that type of evidence comes from.
- 22 It's something out of the head of Zeus, but it is not on
- 23 the record, and I don't think how you could possibly
- 24 find that anywhere on earth. Obviously there's abuse in
- 25 families, obviously it's a tragedy. But to simply say

- 1 you can assume it with regard to plural families, it's
- 2 not just unfair, it just can't be done under the federal
- 3 rules.
- Now, the other thing I wanted to address on
- 5 that point, Your Honor, is that the state continually
- 6 comes back and says whatever social harms mean we're
- 7 particularly concerned because these communities are so
- 8 insular, which is quite maddening because the reason the
- 9 communities are so insular is because the state has made
- 10 the status of the relationships a crime. And so this
- 11 becomes quite circular. The state says if you have a
- 12 plural relationship you're a felon. In fact, the
- 13 defendant in this case went public to say these people
- 14 are all committing felonies through his subordinates.
- 15 That might have something to do with the fact that these
- 16 communities remain insular. If you don't want them to
- 17 be insular, the first step might be to say we're not
- 18 going to criminalize you just for your private
- 19 relationship.
- The other problem that I see in these types
- 21 of arguments, Your Honor, and I would love to get to
- 22 Reynolds and to Lawrence in a second, is that the court
- 23 was probing the question of how you distinguish between
- 24 relationships. That's been obvious, you know,
- 25 throughout this case that the state has a population

- 1 that clearly contains some that have adulterous
- 2 relationships, it clearly has people that are living
- 3 with people who are not their spouses. This statute
- 4 criminalizes cohabitation. And the state is locked into
- 5 one thing that comes out of the state system, it is not
- 6 required to follow the State Supreme Court and its
- 7 interpretation of the Federal Constitution, as you know.
- 8 But the State Supreme Court is given deference on what
- 9 the statute means. And the court in Holm said it
- 10 doesn't require marriage. It's all about cohabitation.
- 11 They adopted the broadest possible interpretation, and
- 12 that, I believe, does control.
- Now, I also am a little confused with some
- 14 of the discussion of the individual counts, Your Honor.
- 15 With equal protection I heard the state recognize that
- 16 this is a discrete and insular minority. I think it has
- 17 to be. But then when we get to free exercise, the state
- 18 indicated that this was not a suspect class. And then
- 19 when we got to establishment, it said the reason
- 20 establishment doesn't apply is because it's not a
- 21 suspect class. Establishment doesn't require that you
- 22 have a suspect class. That's not part of the test.
- 23 And, furthermore, when counsel says he
- 24 hasn't read Roberts that would explain a lot because
- 25 Roberts is the controlling case in this area for free

- 1 association. And what Roberts says about free
- 2 association goes directly to these types of intimate
- 3 relationships.
- 4 Now, Your Honor, the court -- the
- 5 government's limited argument in this case focuses
- 6 almost entirely on Reynolds, what we call the "Hail
- 7 Mary" pass, and it's a pass that is meant to clear
- 8 Lawrence, which is the most recent discussion of the
- 9 Supreme Court, and throw the ball back to the Nineteenth
- 10 Century and to rely on a case that is widely condemned
- 11 as one of the most vile and prejudicial cases in its
- 12 language that the court has ever handed down. To
- 13 suggest that Reynolds is still good law, I have to
- 14 submit, with all due respect, is perfectly bizarre.
- 15 Reynolds was saying the very thing that the state
- 16 finally admitted it would not say in this case. If you
- 17 look at the last series of briefs, the state said, to
- 18 its credit, that it will not argue nor can it argue that
- 19 morality alone can be the basis for a statute. That's
- 20 exactly what Reynolds is arguing. Reynolds, as we've
- 21 quoted, makes repeated reference to upholding the good
- 22 order in morals of society, to use the defendant's
- 23 language. It is important to remember that Reynolds was
- 24 the same group of justices that handed down Pace v.
- 25 Alabama for the same reason when it allowed the

- 1 criminalization of marriages of mixed races. That was
- 2 overturned in Loving. And the only reason I raise that
- 3 is not only was it this particular court that handed
- 4 down Reynolds, honored almost consistently with reversal
- 5 in later years. But if the state's argument is correct,
- 6 then Loving should never have happened, Lawrence should
- 7 never have happened.
- 8 Indeed, if you look at Reynolds, the court
- 9 asserts that it can, meaning the state, define the scope
- 10 of any marriage. On page 166 it says, It is within the
- 11 legitimate scope of the power of every civil government
- 12 to determine whether polygamy or monogamy shall be the
- 13 law of social life under its dominion. Now, we read
- 14 that today and it seems to come from a different planet.
- 15 But that's the statute that the state is citing. Under
- 16 that analysis the State of Utah could literally
- 17 criminalize monogamy or it could go back and criminalize
- 18 mixed race marriages. Obviously it can't do that. And
- 19 obviously Reynolds has been tossed to the dustbin of
- 20 history. It is still cited for the limited proposition
- 21 that a general and neutral statute falls under the
- 22 standard that the court discussed earlier.
- Now, the other aspect of this "Hail Mary"
- 24 pass by the state is to make reference to the Tenth
- 25 Circuit, particularly the Potter case, which they put a

- 1 lot of emphasis on. But the problem with Potter is it
- 2 came in 1985, and so that occurred before Lawrence. It
- 3 would be rather odd to apply the ruling of the Tenth
- 4 Circuit as to the meaning of these questions, but not
- 5 the Supreme Court's decision in Lawrence 18 years later.
- 6 But I also note, by the way, that the reliance on Potter
- 7 is extensive, and I don't understand how, because at
- 8 most Potter would apply to the Free Exercise Clause and
- 9 privacy claim, but I don't see how it could possibly
- 10 apply to these other claims.
- 11 What we would submit to the court is that
- 12 the state summary judgment motion is woefully inadequate
- 13 to make out a case for summary judgment. But, as you
- 14 know, this is a combined argument they folded in both
- 15 their opposition to us in our motion and as well as
- 16 making their motion. And these arguments are, of
- 17 course, repeated. And we would submit to the court that
- 18 we believe that the state's fundamentally wrong on these
- 19 standards and we think the court has spoken very clearly
- 20 on it. But more importantly there is no way to get from
- 21 here to there for the state. For the court to do what
- 22 the state is asking it would have to say that we are
- 23 living under Reynolds, it would have to take us back to
- $24\,$ $\,$ the Nineteenth Century. We are not arguing in this case
- 25 for the recognition of plural marriage. We've said that

- 1 over and over again.
- 2 When the state says every state has these --
- 3 this same law, that's simply not true. The Utah law is
- 4 fundamentally different in its use of cohabitation. If
- 5 you look at other states, they focus on multiple
- 6 marriage licenses, and we do not contest that you can
- 7 prosecute people for multiple marriage licenses and we
- 8 do not contest that you can prosecute people for a
- 9 collateral crime. That's just not precedent in this
- 10 case. And, more importantly, those are not distinctions
- 11 under the statute.
- 12 That's all we have right now, Your Honor.
- 13 THE COURT: Let me ask a question to follow
- 14 up. With respect to this court's requirement to follow
- 15 Tenth Circuit precedent and guidance, tell me your best
- 16 argument as to why this court is not required to accept
- 17 the Tenth Circuit's pronouncement that these laws have
- 18 been recognized as being constitutionally sound and I
- 19 should follow them.
- MR. TURLEY: Well, first of all, Your Honor,
- 21 the cases cited by the government do not involve the
- 22 majority of claims that we have brought. Many of those
- 23 cases dealt with dicta, but they certainly did not raise
- 24 these specific claims.
- 25 Second, as we know, Potter came before

- 1 Lawrence. Lawrence is controlling, not Potter. And to
- 2 the extent that Potter did apply, it would only apply to
- 3 those two claims, but it doesn't apply to those claims
- 4 because the last time I checked, the Supreme Court was
- 5 the higher authority to the Tenth Circuit. I don't see
- 6 any Tenth Circuit case that bars the relief that we're
- 7 asking for here.
- 8 THE COURT: All right. One final question,
- 9 on the free speech claims, as I understand the
- 10 government's argument, it is in this case that the
- 11 Browns brought the public investigation and accusations
- 12 upon themselves and, therefore, because they did that,
- 13 they shouldn't be allowed to argue that this is somehow
- 14 an imposition of their free speech claims. How do you
- 15 respond to that argument?
- MR. TURLEY: Well, Your Honor, I find that a
- 17 curious argument because that's basically saying, look,
- 18 if you didn't speak, you wouldn't have a free speech
- 19 problem. That's what it basically comes down to. It's
- 20 your fault. You should have stayed quiet. And there's
- 21 no question the Browns wanted to show people that a
- 22 plural family is not one of these compound monstrosities
- 23 that the state keeps on describing. There's a great
- 24 number of plural families that are law abiding, they
- 25 live within society, they don't commit these collateral

- 1 crimes. But all the state can say is, you know, if you
- 2 had simply not done the television show, you wouldn't
- 3 have a problem. That's exactly what Chief Justice
- 4 Roberts strongly condemned in FEC v. Wisconsin Right to
- 5 Life when he said you can't analyze a free speech case
- 6 by considering whether they would have been treated
- 7 differently, quote, "by changing what they say." That's
- 8 ultimately what the state wants. The state is saying,
- 9 look, if you just didn't have a show about you and did a
- 10 show about making duck calls, or living on the Jersey
- 11 shore, we wouldn't have any problem with you. Well,
- 12 that's just not the test. The test is do they have a
- 13 right to speak and is it because of that speech that
- 14 they have been prosecuted. And the state has not been
- 15 particularly subtle. They have said from the beginning
- 16 we started the investigation because of this television
- 17 program, and then they went out publically and said they
- 18 are committing felonies every night on this television
- 19 program. It was the state that actually established
- 20 this close nexus.
- 21 THE COURT: I've thought of a couple more
- 22 questions. One, how would you believe that this court
- 23 should deal with the Enabling Act?
- MR. TURLEY: Your Honor, we note in our
- 25 brief, in one of the footnotes in our brief, the

- 1 Enabling Act does not limit the State of Utah in this
- 2 regard for a couple of reasons. One is, first of all,
- 3 even if the Enabling Act has any continuing control over
- 4 the state or authorities, it is promising not to
- 5 recognize a polygamist marriage. We're not asking for
- 6 recognition. We're asking what Louis Brandeis said was
- 7 the most important right under the Constitution, is the
- 8 right to left alone. There's only one marriage license
- 9 in the Brown family, and they haven't even sought any
- 10 more licenses, nor do they expect to or want to.
- 11 Second, as the district court has said
- 12 previously, as we cited in the brief, once you're in the
- 13 union, you're in the union, and it does not impose
- 14 continuing limitations. In fact, you know, we fought a
- 15 civil war to say that you can't get out of the union.
- 16 THE COURT: Would your argument be the same
- 17 under the so-called irrevocable ordinance?
- 18 MR. TURLEY: It would. The state clearly
- 19 has the authority to do what the other states have done,
- 20 and that is to prohibit multiple marriage licenses, but
- 21 to get out of the business of telling people what is
- 22 criminal about their private relationships.
- 23 THE COURT: One of the principles that the
- 24 courts are admonished to follow is to construe and
- 25 interpret the case on the narrowest constitutional

- 1 ground possible. What do you believe the narrowest
- 2 ground on which this court can find for the plaintiffs
- 3 is?
- 4 MR. TURLEY: Well, Your Honor, I think that
- 5 of all of the constitutional claims I would have to say
- 6 the Due Process Clause is the most direct because if you
- 7 look at what Lawrence says, it seems to be talking about
- 8 this case. If you -- at the end of one of our briefs we
- 9 note that the Supreme Court said, The petitioners are
- 10 entitled to respect for their private lives. The state
- 11 cannot demean their existence or control their destiny
- 12 by making their private sexual conduct a crime. Their
- 13 right to liberty under the Due Process Clause gives them
- 14 the right to engage in their conduct without
- 15 intervention of the government. It is a promise of the
- 16 Constitution that there is a realm of personal liberty
- 17 which the government may not enter. The Texas statute,
- 18 they conclude, furthers no legitimate state interest
- 19 which can justify its intrusion into the personal and
- 20 private life of the individual. To me there is no
- 21 distinction to draw in that respect.
- Now, in terms of striking down the statute,
- 23 it will be rather difficult. The state can simply pass
- $24\,$ $\,$ a statute, as have the other states, and make it a crime
- 25 to give multiple marriage licenses. That's a very easy

- 1 thing to do. They just can't use this statute. And
- 2 quite frankly I think that they will have to come to
- 3 grips with it, if they haven't already. The statute is
- 4 well outside the lines of anything described by the
- 5 Supreme Court.
- 6 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 7 MR. TURLEY: Thank you, sir.
- 8 THE COURT: Mr. Jensen, I'll give you an
- 9 opportunity to respond, and I would appreciate one
- 10 response particularly. As counsel has argued, this
- 11 court is required to give deference to the Utah Supreme
- 12 Court in its interpretation of the breadth of the
- 13 statute. Do you agree that this court must give
- 14 deference to the Holm court in terms of interpreting how
- 15 broadly this state interprets the statute?
- MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- 17 THE COURT: So whether or not it passes
- 18 constitutional muster is a different question for this
- 19 court and which I'm not required to follow the Utah
- 20 Supreme Court; would you agree with that?
- MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- 22 THE COURT: Okay. The second question I
- 23 would like you to respond to is Mr. Turley has argued
- 24 that the narrowest ground upon which this court can find
- 25 for the plaintiff is under the Due Process Clause. As I

- 1 understand your argument, primarily it is that this
- 2 statute is adequate to protect the institution of
- 3 marriage, that's your sole argument under the Due
- 4 Process Clause.
- 5 MR. JENSEN: No, not under the Due Process
- 6 Clause, under the right of privacy. I mean I think
- 7 injury to persons. There's no right that -- the state
- 8 can step in, even under the Due Process Clause to
- 9 protect injury to persons. That's not our sole
- 10 argument, to protect the institution of marriage of
- 11 monogamous marriage.
- 12 THE COURT: What is -- interpreted as
- 13 broadly as it does applied to consenting adults who
- 14 choose to live together and acknowledge their
- 15 relationship, what is the injury to person that you're
- 16 talking about?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, I've enumerated the
- 18 injuries to persons.
- 19 THE COURT: I'm talking -- remember we're
- 20 talking about the breadth with which I'm stuck because
- 21 of the Utah Supreme Court. I've got to interpret this
- 22 as broadly as the Utah Supreme Court did, and at the
- 23 very broadest extreme end this applies to three
- 24 consenting -- four consenting adults who choose to be
- 25 involved in intimate relationships and acknowledge those

- 1 relationships. So how --
- 2 MR. JENSEN: I think that is an incorrect
- 3 view of this case. That is taking it as an applied
- 4 challenge. This is a facial challenge.
- 5 THE COURT: They do make an applied
- 6 challenge. Mr. Turley made that point very clear.
- 7 MR. JENSEN: Well, he does. But just
- 8 because -- I mean he says a lot of things that aren't
- 9 true. Just because he says that, doesn't make it true.
- 10 The Browns have never been charged. This is not an
- 11 applied challenge.
- 12 THE COURT: Tell me why you believe it's not
- 13 an applied challenge.
- MR. JENSEN: Because the Browns have never
- 15 been charged under the statute.
- 16 THE COURT: They were clearly threatened.
- 17 MR. JENSEN: Well, kind of.
- 18 THE COURT: Well, kind of is probably
- 19 enough.
- 20 MR. JENSEN: There was an investigation that
- 21 was started, there was kind of -- there was an
- 22 investigation that was started, but that doesn't --
- 23 THE COURT: I've already crossed that
- 24 bridge.
- MR. JENSEN: You've crossed that as to

- 1 standing, not as to applied challenge. That's
- 2 different.
- 3 THE COURT: Okay. Tell me why it's
- 4 different.
- 5 MR. JENSEN: Because the Browns have never
- 6 been charged.
- 7 THE COURT: Your view of an applied
- 8 challenge requires that there must be an actual claim
- 9 filed -- or case filed against them before they can make
- 10 that challenge.
- MR. JENSEN: Well, I could get the specific
- 12 language, but there's got to be a threatened --
- 13 threatened prosecution, and that has never happened.
- 14 THE COURT: Can the state provide -- or can
- 15 the government in this case provide any basis to
- 16 conclude that the Browns could not reasonably conclude
- 17 that they were threatened by the statute?
- 18 MR. JENSEN: They were never threatened by
- 19 the statute. There was an investigation that was
- 20 started.
- 21 THE COURT: Their conduct clearly falls
- 22 within the Holm definition. You would have to agree
- 23 with that.
- MR. JENSEN: I agree with that, you're
- 25 right.

- 1 THE COURT: So, as interpreted by the state
- 2 and applied to their fact situation, how do I find that
- 3 their constitutional rights have not been violated under
- 4 the Due Process Clause?
- 5 MR. JENSEN: I think you have to look at
- 6 whether or not the statute has a reasonable basis, a
- 7 rational basis.
- 8 THE COURT: That's why I'm asking you that
- 9 extended to them in this fact situation what's the
- 10 rational basis for criminalizing the Browns' conduct?
- 11 MR. JENSEN: You have to look at it as the
- 12 broad community as a whole.
- 13 THE COURT: Any other arguments you wish to
- 14 make?
- MR. JENSEN: Well, just one, and I maybe
- 16 ought not to get to it because it's relatively minor,
- 17 but the issue as to cohabitation in the statute, and I
- 18 think the statute has to be looked at clearly, the
- 19 cohabitation in the statute only applies when someone
- 20 holds themselves out to be married. That is a different
- 21 situation than cohabitation that generally exists in the
- 22 state.
- 23 THE COURT: How do you possibly reach that
- 24 conclusion in the language of the statute?
- MR. JENSEN: Okay. Let me read the statute,

- 1 and we'll go through it. A person is guilty of bigamy
- 2 when knowing he has a husband or wife, or knowing the
- 3 other person has a husband or wife, the person purports
- 4 to marry another person or cohabitates with another
- 5 person.
- 6 THE COURT: Cohabits can't mean marriage
- 7 because --
- 8 MR. JENSEN: No, it's not marriage, but they
- 9 know the other person is married. So they're
- 10 cohabitating. That is different than just cohabitation.
- 11 Two people can go out and cohabitate, and let's admit,
- 12 it goes on all the time. But in this situation under
- 13 the statute they're not prosecuted unless the one
- 14 cohabitating knows that person is married. It's the
- 15 same as with the marriage.
- 16 THE COURT: So it applies to an adulterous
- 17 relationship. By definition, adultery is a person who
- 18 is married and has intimate relationships with another
- 19 person to whom he is not married. That's what you've
- 20 just described.
- 21 MR. JENSEN: All right, Your Honor. But
- 22 let's look at how this really works in practice. In
- 23 practice there is the marriage, it may not be recognized
- 24 by the state, but it is a marriage, it's performed,
- 25 there is a wedding ceremony performed, there are vows

- 1 exchanged. The problem is proving it. The federal
- 2 government had that problem in the 1880s. That's why
- 3 they added cohabitation to the Edmunds Statute. The
- 4 same thing with the Utah statute. The problem was
- 5 proving that they were married, so they have added
- 6 cohabitate, but the person has to cohabitate knowing
- 7 that other person is married.
- 8 THE COURT: That sounds like adultery to me.
- 9 MR. JENSEN: Well, but they're married.
- 10 THE COURT: You told me earlier that
- 11 adultery is not the intent of this statute.
- MR. JENSEN: Adultery is not the intent of
- 13 this statute.
- 14 THE COURT: So tell me what's different
- 15 between adultery and what you've just described.
- MR. JENSEN: The one is that they claim to
- 17 be married. But just because the state can't prove it
- 18 doesn't mean it hasn't happened. That's what's
- 19 happening in the polygamist communities.
- 20 THE COURT: So it's the expression of the
- 21 fact that the person is a wife that makes it illegal.
- MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- THE COURT: Okay.
- MR. JENSEN: Yes.
- 25 THE COURT: Anything further? Mr. Turley,

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anything further from you?
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                MR. TURLEY: No, Your Honor.
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                THE COURT: Thank you, counsel, for your
     arguments. It has been invigorating and mostly helpful.
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     I appreciate your participation. This is a difficult
 5
     issue, and I will rule on it as soon as I can.
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                We will be in recess.
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                (Whereupon, the matter was concluded.)
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Τ	CERTIFICATE
2	
3	State of Utah
4	County of Salt Lake
5	
6	I, Karen Murakami, a Certified Shorthand Reporter
7	for the State of Utah, do hereby certify that the
8	foregoing transcript of proceedings was taken before me
9	at the time and place set forth herein and was taken
10	down by me in shorthand and thereafter transcribed into
11	typewriting under my direction and supervision;
12	That the foregoing pages contain a true and
13	correct transcription of my said shorthand notes so
14	taken.
15	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand
16	this 1st day of February , 2013.
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19	Karen Murakami
20	Karen Murakami, CSR, RPR
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